

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 112193  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15  
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 ACDA-07  
INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /073 R

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PM: R BARTHOLOMEW  
S/S:AWOTTO

-----162347Z 029076 /63

O 162228Z MAY 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 112193

PARIS FOR CHARGE PLEASE PASS SECRETARY, GENEVA FOR S/S

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR,CH

SUBJECT:CONTINGENCY PAPER ON CHINA FOR SECRETARY'S  
GENEVA MEETING WITH GROMYKO

1. THE ISSUE: GROMYKO MAY WARN YOU ABOUT ALLEGED CHINESE  
EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE DETENTE AND WESTERN EFFORTS TO STEER  
CHINESE MILITARISM AGAINST THE USSR. THE SOVIET PURPOSE IN  
RAISING CHINESE HOSTILITY WOULD BE TO WARN US OF THE  
DANGERS OF SUPPLYING MILITARY TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT TO  
CHINA AND TO CLAIM THAT CHINA'S OPEN HOSTILITY TO THE  
SOVIET UNION PLACES LIMITS ON THE SOVIET ABILITY TO REDUCE

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ARMAMENTS.

2. IN THE MOST NEGATIVE SOVIET STATEMENT ON  
CHINA SINCE MAO'S DEATH, PRAVDA ON MAY 14 DENOUNCED MAO'S  
SUCCESSORS FOR THEIR CONTINUING ANTI-SOVIETISM, THEIR  
EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE ARMS CONTROL AND DETENTE, AND, SPECI-  
FICALLY, TO INTERFERE WITH THE NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELA-

TIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US. THE ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT MILITARY AND INDUSTRIAL CIRCLES IN WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE ACTIVELY DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF SUPPLYING ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO CHINA. IT WARNS THAT WESTERN EFFORTS TO DEFLECT CHINESE EXPANSIONISM FROM THEMSELVES AND TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION ARE FUTILE. THE

ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT IT WOULD BE AN UNPARDONABLE FALLACY TO REMAIN INDIFFERENT TOWARD PEKING'S RECKLESS POLICY UNTIL AFTER THE DANGER ASSUMES RUINOUS PROPORTIONS. THE TIMING OF THIS ARTICLE MAY BE RELATED TO YOUR GENEVA TALKS WITH GROMYKO.

3. YOUR OBJECTIVES:

-- TO REJECT SOVIET CONTENTIONS THAT THE WEST IS ABETTING CHINESE MILITARISM;  
-- TO AVOID LINKAGE BETWEEN CHINA AND US-SOVIET ARMS LIMITATIONS.

4. STRATEGY: WE SHOULD AVOID GETTING INTO A DEBATE WITH GROMYKO OVER CHINESE INTENTIONS, BUT WE SHOULD NOT LET THE SOVIETS USE CHINESE HOSTILITY AS A LIMITING FACTOR ON SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS.

5. TALKING POINTS (IF GROMYKO RAISES):

-- OUR OBJECTIVE IN SEEKING NORMALIZATION WITH PRC IS PEACE IN ASIA; PURPOSE IS NOT ANTI-SOVIET;  
-- US POLICY IS NOT DEFINED BY CHINA'S OPPOSITION TO DETENTE;

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-- PROGRESS ON US-SOVIET ARMS LIMITATIONS IS NOT RELATED TO SINO-AMERICAN NORMALIZATION OR TO CHINESE POLICY. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Drafter:** W J KUSHLIS:GM  
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